

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19

OMB-01 INRE-00 RSR-01 /155 W
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P R 131958 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8461

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 323

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 3091

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: MBFR: ADHOC GROUP MEETING APRIL 13

GENEVA FOR DISTO

USNATO TAKE AS PRIORITY

FROM US REP MBFR

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN ITS APRIL 13 SESSION, AD HOC GROUP HEAR REPORT THAT SOVIETS HAD CONFIRMED THEIR APRIL 7 PROPOSAL IN QUADRILATERAL PROBE HELD EARLIER IN THE DAY. ALSO HEARD REPORT OF BRIEF US- SOVIET BILATERAL PRECEDING SESSION. GROUP DISCUSSED THESE REPORTS, AND AGREED THAT THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE WAS NOW READY FOR NAC DISCUSSION. REPORT TO NAC WAS SLIGHTLY REVISED AND APPROVED. GROUP PLANS FOR THE COMING
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WEEK AND PRESS GUIDANCE WERE ALSO DISCUSSED. END SUMMARY.

2. THE US REP OPENED THE MEETING BY REPORTING ON A MEETING HELD EARLIER IN THE DAY WITH KVITSINSKIY, AHT THE LATTER'S REQUEST. KVITSINSKIY HAD INSISTED BILATERAL WAS NEEDED, ALTHOUGH HIS REASONS WERE CLOUDY. KVITSINSKIY TOLD US REP THAT MOSCOW HAD CONFIRMED THE APRIL 7 SOVIET PROPOSAL INCLUDING PROPOSED STATEMENTS (TEXT IN VIENNA 2843 AND ALSO IN VIENNA 2890; REVISIONS IN SEPTTEL). KVITSINSKIY SAID SOVIETS WOULD LIKE TO DESIGNATE FLANKS AS SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS RATHER THAN AS CONSULTATIVE PARTICIPANTS BECAUSE ROMANIANS OBJECTED TO DESIGNATION OF CONSULTATIVE. KVITSINSKIY COMPLAINED THAT THERE HAD BEEN TOO MUCH DISCUSSION AMONG ALLIES OF SOVIET MODUS OPERANDI; FOR EXAMPLE, ONE WESTERN DELEGATE HAD ASKED HIM HOW HIS TRIP TO BRATISLAVA HAD BEEN. KVITSINSKIY STATED IN THE STRONGEST TERMS THAT PRESS LEAKS ON THE NEW PROPOSAL SHOULD BE AVOIDED, AND THAT IF THERE WAS ANY LEAK WHATSOEVER CLAIMING THAT THE SOVIETS HAD MADE A NEW PROPOSAL, THE SOVIETS WOULD BE OBLIGED TO START A PRESS WAR OF THEIR OWN. US REP HAD PROMISED TO DO WHAT HE COULD, AND REGRETTED THAT NO GUARANTEE WAS POSSIBLE. KVITSINSKIY STATED THAT MOSCOW WOULD LIKE APRIL 7 PROPOSAL TO HAVE THE STATUS OF A JOINT RECOMMENDATION BY THE FOUR PARTIES ENGAGED IN PROBES. US REP REPLIED THAT THIS WAS IMPOSSIBLE, SINCE ALLIED REPS HAD FIRM INSTRUCTIONS AND MUST STAY WITHIN THEM. THUS SOVIET DELEGATION WOULD HAVE TO SOLVE PROBLEM ITS OWN WAY. FINALLY, KVITSINSKIY SAID MOSCOW WANTED SEVERAL CHANGES IN THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSED ALLIED STATEMENT, BUT US REP RESPONDED THAT EACH SUCH CHANGE WOULD REQUIRE A CORRESPONDING IMPORTANT CHANGE MADE BY THE ALLIES IN THE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT. THIS BILATERAL WAS REPORTED TO NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) BEFORE THE QUADRILATERAL PROBE WHICH TOOK PLACE A FEW MINUTES LATER.

3. AD HOC GROUP READ REPORT OF QUADRILATERAL PROBE (TEXT SEPTTEL). NETHERLANDS REP NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD LIVED UP TO THE APRIL 7 DISCUSSION, AND HAD ACCEPTED WITH GOOD GRACE THE ALLIED REJECTION OF THEIR FEW PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE STATMENTS. WHEN THE ALLIED REPS HAD PROPOSED DROPPING THE ENLARGEMENT FORMULA, THE SOVIET REPLY WAS CATEGORICAL. THE TEXT OF THE OVERALL PROPOSAL WAS ORAL AND IS NOT FORMALLY ON THE TABLE. HOWEVER, SOVIETS ARE COMMITTED TO ACCEPT THE STATEMENTS AS THEY STAND PROVIDED NATO ACCEPTS REMAINING PROCEDURES TEXT
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IN ITS ENTIRETY.

4. US REP ADDED A COMMENT ON THE PROBLEM OF PRESS LEAKS. IT WAS HIS IMPRESSION THAT KVITSINSKIY HAD MEANT EXACTLY WHAT HE SAID. FOR SOME TIME, US REP HAS PERSONALLY HAD THE FEELING THAT INFO FROM THE AD HOC GROUP COMES INTO THE HANDS OF SOME INDIVIDUAL IN THE ALLIED CIRCUIT WHO DOES NOT WISH THE MBFR PROJECT WELL, AND WHO THEREFORE LEAKS THE INFO TO THE PRESS. SUCH PERSONS IF THEY EXISTED SHOULD REALIZE THAT A PRESS WAR AT THIS JUNCTURE COULD BE DAMAGING TO THE WEST AS A WHOLE, QUITE APART FROM ITS EFFECTS ON MBFR. US REP SAID HE FELT SENSE OF DESPERATION WHEN HE READS IN DIE PRESSE, AS HE DID IN APRIL 13 EDITION, ACCOUNTS IN SUCH DETAIL THAT THEY MUST OF THEIR NATURE EMANATE FROM THE ALLIES. AT THE CHAIRMAN'S (CANADIAN REP GRANDE) SUGGESTION, IT WAS AGREED TO ADD A NOTE TO THIS EFFECT IN THE REPORT TRANSMITTED TO THE NAC.

5. THERE FOLLOWED AN EXTENDED DISCUSSION OF THE QUADRILATERAL AND OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. THE MAJOR POINTS WERE AS FOLLOWS: A QUESTION WAS RAISED BY CANADIAN REP ABOUT STATUS OF PARA 10 (STATING THAT PROCEDURES WOULD BE CARRIED OVER TO NEGOTIATIONS PROPER) OF PROCEDURES PAPER. RESPONSE WAS THAT SOVIETS HAD AGREED TO SUBSTANCE, BUT THAT THEY DID NOT WANT IT IN WRITING, AND IT WAS NOT IN THEIR PROPOSAL. THE MATTER COULD BE TAKEN UP WHEN OTHER ASPECTS OF PROCEDURES HAVE BEEN RESOLVED. BELGIAN DEPREP (WILLOT) INQUIRED ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE TWO STATEMENTS. RESPONSE WAS THAT ALLIES CANNOT ARGUE WITH FULL FORCE FOR THEIR INCLUSION IN THE ACTUAL TEXT GIVEN BY THE SOVIETS WITHOUT NAC INSTRUCTIONS PERMITTING ACCEPTANCE OF HUNGARY AS A SPECIAL PARTICIPANT. SOVIETS APPEAR TO HAVE IN MIND THAT PROCEDURES PAPER AND STATEMENTS WOULD BE READ ALOUD AT NEXT PLENARY AND INCORPORATED INTO AN OFFICIAL MINUTE OF SOME KIND BUT ISSUE REMAINS OPEN FOR LATER SETTLEMENT. FRG REP (RUTH RAISED QUESTION ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE VIEWS EXCHANGED IN THE QUADRILATERAL REGARDING TRANSLATIONS OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER. THE DISCUSSION APPEARED TO INDICATE THAT THE ORDER OF PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE THE SAME IN EACH VERSION, AND THIS MIGHT NOT BE ALPHABETICAL ORDER IN LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH. FRG WOULD PREFER THAT LISTING BE ALPHABETICAL IN EACH LANGUAGE, AND THAT PARA 4 STATE THAT SEATING WOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE ORDER OF PARA 1 IN THE ENGLISH TEXT. RESPONSE WAS THAT THIS MATTER COULD PROBABLY BE RAISED LATER IN NECESSARY COMPARISON

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OF WRITTEN TEXTS WITHOUT SOVIET CHARGES OF BAD FAITH, BUT THAT A FAVORABLE SOVIET RESPONSE COULD NOT BE PROMISED. FURTHER DISCUSSION BROUGHT OUT THAT IF AND WHEN AN AGREED WRITTEN TEXT IS PREPARED, QUESTIONS OF GRAMMAR AND OTHER TECHNICALITIES CAN BE RAISED. ON THE OTHER HAND, MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES

WERE EXCLUDED BY TERMS OF SOVIET PROPOSAL AND IF RAISED
WOULD PRESUMABLY LEAD THE SOVIETS TO ABANDON THEIR COMMITMENT
TO THE PROPOSAL OR TO MAKE REQUEST FOR IMPORTANT CHANGES OF
THEIR OWN AND THUS RESULT IN UNRAVELLING OF WHOLE PACKAGE.

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10

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P R 131958 Z APR 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8462
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
MBFR CAPITALS 324
USMISSION GENEVA
USNMR SHAPE
USLOSACLANT
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 3091

GENEVA FOR DISTO

USNATO TAKE AS PRIORITY

FROM US REP MBFR

6. STATUS OF SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS CLARIFIED AS FOLLOWS. IT
HAS BEEN CONFIRMED BY MOSCOW, AND CAN BE PRESENTED TO THE NAC
AS A SOVIET PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, SOVIETS REFUSED TO BE OFFICIALLY
COMMITTED TO IT UNLESS NAC PROVIDES INSTRUCTIONS ALLOWING ALLIED
REPS TO ACCEPT IT AS WELL. SOVIETS WOULD HAVE TABLED A WRITTEN
ENGLISH VERSION IF ALLIED EMISSARIES HAD BEEN WILLING TO FORWARD
IT AS A JOINT PROPOSAL OF THE QUADRIpartite GROUP. IF NAC

DECISION IS THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL IS UNACCEPTABLE IN ANY SUB-
STANTIVE RESPECT, SOVIETS CONSIDER THAT THIS WOULD RELIEVE
THEM OF ANY COMMITMENT TO THE CONCESSIONS THE PROPOSAL EMBODIES.
IF NAC APPROVES SUBSTANCE OF PROPOSAL, IT WOULD PRESUMABLY
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NOT ACCEPT IT AS SUCH, BUT SEND INSTRUCTIONS PERMITTING ALLIED
REPS AND SOVIETS TO FINALIZE AGREED WRITTEN TEXT, INCLUDING
STATUS OF STATEMENTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

7. NETHERLANDS AND US REPS SUGGESTED MINOR REVISIONS IN THEIR
REPORT TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF DAY'S EVENTS. (ORIGINAL TEXT IN
VIENNA 3036. REVISIONS IN SEPTEL.) CHAIRMAN THEN READ HIS
PROPOSED COVERING TELEGRAM, AND THE GROUP AGREED ON A NUMBER
OF REVISIONS (REVISED TEXT SEPTEL).

8. GROUP WILL MEET AT 3:15 P. M. APRIL 16 IN GERMAN EMBASSY UNDER
DANISH CHAIRMANSHIP. BUSINESS WILL INCLUDE REPORT BY BELGIAN
DEPREP ON A LUNCHEON MEETING SCHEDULED THAT DAY WITH STRULAK
(POLSIH REP) AND BAUR (AUSTRIA LIAISON OFFICER) CONCERNING
AUSTRIAN PLANS. IT WAS EMPHASIZED THAT DURING THE NEXT TEN DAYS
GROUP WILL BE OFFICIALLY IN SESSION IN VIENNA, AND CHAIRMEN
WILL CALL MEETINGS AS REQUESTED BY GROUP MEMBERS. NEXT FULL
MEETING TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR 10:15 A. M., APRIL 25 IN
U. S. EMBASSY UNDER FRG CHAIRMANSHIP.

9. PRESS GUIDANCE WAS AGREED AS FOLLOWS: MEETINGS OF THE AD HOC
GROUP ARE CONTINUING, AND INFORMAL CONTACTS MAY CONTINUE,
OVER THE EASTER PERIOD. IF ASKED, PRESS SPOKESMEN SHOULD SAY
ONLY THAT SOME ALLIED REPS FROM VIENNA MAY BE IN BRUSSELS NEXT
WEEK (FYI: AT LEAST 7 PLAN TO ATTEND APRIL 18 NAC. END FYI)
FOR A PERIODIC STOCKTAKING BY THE NAC OF THE VIENNA TALKS.
HUMES

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